

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/I:DWKEOGH/DAZACHARY:SJC

APPROVED BY AF: WESCHAUFLE

NEA/ECY:GBEYER

AF:JBLAKE

S/S-FVORTIZ

AF:JBLAKE

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R 050226Z MAR 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

S E C R E T STATE 054180

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, SF, EG, US, XA

SUBJECT:EGYPTIAN CONCERN RE US POSITION IN AFRICA

REF: CAIRO 2451(EXDIS)

1. DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN CONSIDERING ISSUES RAISED BY RIAD IN CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTEL FOR SOME TIME. WE SUGGEST YOU PASS FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT TO HIM AT CONVENIENT OPPORTUNITY.

2. DESPITE THE SETBACK IN ANGOLA OCCASIONED BY SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION WE CONTINUE TO SEE A NUMBER OF POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH SUB-SAHARAN COUNTRIES. WE ENJOY BASICALLY GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF THESE NATIONS. AMONG THESE ARE INCLUDED THE MOST IMPORTANT AFRICAN COUNTRIES, I.E, ZAIRE, ETHIOPIA AND ZAMBIA. AS FOR NIGERIA A MUTUALITY OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR A WORKABLE AND CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP. WE ENJOY GOOD RELATIONS WITH OTHER IM-

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PORTANT COUNTRIES AS WELL, I.E., KENYA, MOROCCO, IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL. AS FOR MANY COUNTRIES WITH WHOM WE DO

NOT HAVE PARTICULARLY CLOSE RELATIONS WE NEVERTHELESS MAINTAIN A CONTINUING DIALOGUE AND IN SOME CASES (GUINEA, SOMALIA) WE EVEN PROVIDE PL 480 ASSISTANCE.

OUR VIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN ITS POSITION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS.

-- FIRST, WE HAVE NO INTENTION WHATSOEVER OF ABANDONING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA BECAUSE OF SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION ON A LARGE SCALE OR FOR ANY OTHER REASON. OUR INTERESTS AND OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA ARE GROWING, BASED IN PART ON INCREASING CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC AWARENESS OF AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS. US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA HAS INCREASED IN EACH OF THE LAST THREE YEARS. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR RESOURCES WE EXPECT THAT TREND TO CONTINUE. WE ALSO INTEND TO CONTINUE THE MODEST MILITARY AID PROGRAMS WE PRESENTLY MAINTAIN. OUR STEADILY INCREASING TRADE, OUR CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN HELPING AFRICAN NATIONS DEVELOP THEIR RESOURCES, OUR GENEROUS RESPONSE TO THE SAHEL DROUGHT, OUR ACTIVE PEACE CORPS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS ALL POINT UP THE IMPORTANCE AND CLOSENESS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

-- SECOND, CONGRESSIONAL ACTION CUTTING OFF FURTHER US ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA WAS BASED AS MUCH ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AS FOREIGN POLICY GROUNDS. WE ARE FINDING BOTH IN CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC GENERALLY INCREASED INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR AFRICAN MATTERS.

-- THIRD, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT AFRICAN LEADERS ARE ALSO HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT SOVIET ACTIVITIES AND INTENTIONS IN AFRICA. AS RIAD LEARNED IN HIS TALKS WITH NETO AND NYERERE, AFRICAN LEADERS ARE THINKING CAREFULLY ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

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-- CONCERNING THE LONG DELAYS IN CARRYING OUT OUR AID PROGRAMS, RIAD MAY BE THINKING AS MUCH ABOUT EGYPT AS OTHER RECIPIENTS. DELAYS USUALLY OCCUR BECAUSE OUR PROJECTS ARE DESIGNED TO REMEDY HARD DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. IN CONTRAST TO SOVIET EFFORTS, THEY ARE LONG TERM RATHER THAN POLITICAL IMPACT PROJECTS. US PROJECTS MUST ALSO FREQUENTLY BE COORDINATED WITH OTHER DONORS. SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE COMES MORE RAPIDLY IN THE FORM OF COMMERCIAL CREDITS WHICH ARE TIED TO SOVIET PURCHASES. EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THAT OVERALL

SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA IS PUNY COMPARED TO US LEVELS. WE HAVE PROVIDED OVER \$3 BILLION TO AFRICA SINCE 1960 WHILE ONLY \$200 MILLION OF \$800 MILLION SOVIET COMMERCIAL CREDITS HAVE BEEN USED BY AFRICAN STATES. REAL SOVIET INTERESTS ARE REVEALED BY THE FACT THAT ITS MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA FAR OUTSTRIPS ITS ECONOMIC AID.

4. WITHOUT DOWNPLAYING SERIOUSNESS OF SOVIET-CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA OR CONCERN IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE THAT US HAS LOST ITS RESOLVE, IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT WE INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN OUR POWER TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN US-AFRICAN RELATIONS. IN THIS EFFORT WE ARE COUNTING STRONGLY ON AFRICAN SENSITIVITIES TOWARD FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT, PARTICULARLY MILITARY, IN CONTINENT'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. OBVIOUSLY, WE CANNOT DO FOR THE AFRICANS WHAT THEY WILL NOT DO FOR THEMSELVES, NAMELY, MAKE CERTAIN THAT SOVIET-CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IS RAPIDLY TERMINATED. WE CONTINUE TO SEE THAT INVOLVEMENT AS ONE PRIMARILY ON WHICH AFRICANS WILL TAKE THE LEAD WITH OUR SUPPORT. IN THIS CONNECTION WE MUST FRANKLY ADMIT WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGED BY EXTENT TO WHICH AFRICANS HAVE APPARENTLY ACCEPTED WITHOUT ANY QUALMS DECISIONS BY CERTAIN AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TO ACCORD EXTENSIVE OVERFLIGHT, LANDING AND REFUELING FACILITIES TO SOVIETS AND CUBANS NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR PROFESSIONS OF "NON-ALIGNMENT." KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, POLICIES, BALANCE OF POWER, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: RowellE0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE054180
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DWKEOGH/DAZACHARY:SJC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760085-0018
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760389/aaaadanb.tel
Line Count: 143
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: RowellE0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 JUN 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <19 OCT 2004 by RowellE0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GYPTIAN CONCERN RE US POSITION IN AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, SF, EG, US, XA
To: CAIRO
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006